

LEGENDS OF CRAFTSMEN IN JAINA LITERATURE.
INCLUDING NOTES ON THE BELL-FRIEZE AND MOUNT MANDARA
IN THE JAINA CANON AND IN ANCIENT INDIAN ART

1. Craftsmen and artists in Ancient India, depending on the moods of their patrons, did not always enjoy the fruit of their labour. This appears to be reflected in the legends of artists which are included in the eighth chapter of the *Nāyādhamma-kahāo*, the sixth Aṅga of the Jaina Śvetāmbara Canon, which contains the story of Arhat Mallī's life, who became the 19th Tīrthakara of the Jainas though she was a woman at the beginning of her career. In 1952, I submitted my thesis on this particular chapter at Munich University.

Here we read that at one time the clip of the pair of earrings *kuṇḍala-juyalassa saṃdhī* of princess Mallī broke. Therefore, the guild of goldsmiths *suvāṇṇagāra-seṇī* was ordered by her father king Kumbhaka of Mithilā to repair it. However, they failed to do so, and though they offered to manufacture another pair of earrings, they were expelled by the king. So they leave the Videha country with all their tools, and are well received by the *Kāśī-rāya* in *Vāṇārasī*. Asked about princess Mallī, the craftsmen arouse the desire of the king by their description of Mallī's beauty. This leads to the consequence that later he tries to win her favour. Rejected he moves with an army to Mithilā to win her by force, an event which resulted from the ill-treatment which the craftsmen had suffered in Mithilā.

2. In the next chapter we read that prince Malladatta, the brother of princess Mallī, gives an order to the guild of painters *cittagara-seṇī* to decorate the picture hall *citta-sabhā* in his amusement park *pamaya-vaṇaṃsī*. Among them there was a craftsman who was able to reconstruct the exact likeness of a creature from a small detail without seeing the whole. At one time he happened to see the big toe of princess Mallī standing behind a curtain, behind a lattice structure, *Mallīe javaṇiy'-antariyāe jāl'-antareṇa pāy'-aṅgutṭhaṃ pāsai*. From this small detail the painter conceives the exact likeness of her, painting her figure on the

wall of the picture gallery. When later her brother visited this hall, he saw the likeness of his sister painted on the wall and became very angry with the painter. Thinking that he had touched his noble sister with his eyes, he sentenced him to death. Only after he had been told about the particular skill of the painter who did not see the whole figure of Mallī, he ordered the thumb and the forefinger of the painter to be cut off, *tassa cittagarassa saṃdāsagaṃ chindāvei*. The latter is a specific term of Ancient Indian criminal law which corresponds to *saṃdāṃśa-cchedanaṃ* in the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* 4.10.

According to the rules of criminal law, Mallī should also have been punished accordingly for her offence of coming near a place where craftsmen were working, but nothing is said about it in the passage under discussion. However, in a later passage, in a different context, a female mendicant, who is questioned about how she likes king Jiya-sattu's women's apartment, declares that it is not equal to a hundred-thousandth part of the cut-off toe of Mallī, *Mallīe Videha-rāyavara-kannāe chinnassa vi pāy'-aṅguṭṭhassa ime tava orohe saya-sahassaimaṃ pi kalaṃ na agghai*. Here, in this way an important point of the execution of criminal law in the original version is preserved which was suppressed in the picture gallery story with regard to the later position of an Arhat Mallī.

3. The story of the picture gallery is also silent about the way in which the artist obtained the skill to depict the exact likeness of a figure from a small detail. We find the story of the cause of this particular skill narrated in the seventeenth chapter of Ācārya Nemicaṇḍasūri's *Ākhyānaka-Maṇi-Kośa* (c. 1073-1083 A.D.)¹, about which I wrote in my article « What the Jaina Sources can teach us »².

In AMK 17, verses 2-3 (Āryā metres), we learn, that *Surapio jakkho*, who resides in a park in the North of Saketa, is painted at the end of the year, because he is fond of painting *citta-pio*. In the verses 4-5 we read that the Yakṣa used to kill the painter who had painted him; as a result, painters became afraid and ran away. Only a young artist who wants to learn the art of painting dares to go near and to paint him after he had performed the rites of purity with great care, though his mother had warned him. The Yakṣa is, however, so pleased, that he does not kill the young artist, and grants him, instead, a boon. The painter asks the Yakṣa to stop killing people, which is granted, and for himself he asks: « Whenever I see a portion of a being of two feet or four feet, may I be able to draw the rest in conformity with it. This should be the boon [granted to me]. When it was acquired, through it (the granting of the particular skill), the body as a whole was obtained [out of a detail] ».

1. Abbreviation AMK. Edited by Muni Shri Punyavijayaji and introduced by Umakant P. Shah, Varanasi, 1962 (Prakrit Text Series 5).

2. JOIB, 24, nos. 1-2 (1974), pp. 181-86 in particular.

Verse 11 c, d: *teṇ'uttaṃ dupaya-cauppayassa pāsāmi jaṃ desaṃ /*

Verse 12: *tassāṇusārao cciya lihejja sesaṃ pi esa hojja varo /*
paḍivanne teṇa-m-imo saṃpatto akkhaya-sarīro //

Akkhaya (= Sk. *akṣata*) also means « not hurt ». Thus we may translate verse 12 c, d: « when (the boon) was acquired, he succeeded in having his body uninjured due to it (*teṇa*) ».

Then follows a scene which reminds us of the incidents with Mallī referred to above in § 2 of this paper. The painter finds himself later employed in the picture hall of king Sayāṇiya, near the women's apartments, and happens to see the big toe of queen Mṛgāvatī from which he draws the figure of the queen (verse 16);

teṇaṃ Miyāvaīe pāy'aṃguṭṭho kahaṃ pi saccavio /
to tay'aṇusārao cciya rūvaṃ nimnaviyaṃ //

When the king later went to the picture hall, he saw his wife depicted there and cried « He (the painter) has molested my wife », *mama pattī dharisiyā aṇeṇaṃ ti*. As in the story of the *Mallī-Jñāta*, the painter is sentenced to death by the king, and it is the guild of painters who informs him about the artist's talent, and that he therefore was able to paint the likeness of the queen from her big toe without seeing her whole figure, as she was behind a curtain (verses 20-21). Out of animosity the king sentences the thumb and forefinger of the painter to be cut off, but the Yakṣa grants him the boon to paint with his left hand. So the painter is able to draw a panel painting of the king's wife Miyāvaī (Mṛgāvatī) which arouses the desire of king Pajjoya (Pradyota). He sends a messenger to king Sayāṇiya to ask for Miyāvaī. The messenger is rejected, which leads to the siege of Sayāṇiya's residence, as a result of the cruel treatment which the painter had to suffer.

Except for the names, the details of the painter's legend given in the post-canonical AMK, are so close to those narrated in the canonical *Mallī-Jñāta*, that it leads us to conclude, that either the version of the AMK has been composed according to the model of the *Mallī-Jñāta*, or that both draw from an older common source. However, there is one important difference between the two versions. It is the figure of the Yakkha Surappiya of Sāgeya who used to kill the painter who had finished painting his figure on the occasion of his annual festival, and who is appeased by a painter, who had performed all the rituals before painting him, and received the particular skill in fulfilment of a boon granted by the Yakkha, a motif which we traced in AMK 17, but not in the corresponding version of the *Mallī-Jñāta*. Taking into account the fact that Surapriya is also known in this particular matter to the *Āvaśyaka-cūrṇī*, Haribhadra's *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti*, Malayagiri's *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti*, and Koṭyācārya's *Vīśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya-vṛtti*³, it is clear that our AMK

3. For the references see M. L. MEHTA and K. R. CHANDRA, *Prakrit Proper Names*, part II, Ahmedabad, 1972, pp. 835-36, s.v. *Surappiya*.

passage, though a younger compilation (c. 12th cent. A.D.), has preserved an ancient Yakṣa myth. In this *AMK* passage apparently an ancient state of affairs with regard to depicting superhuman beings and ladies of nobility is reflected in which it was not yet considered proper to paint and portray them.

In the above discussed passage of the *Mallī-Jñāta* the intention of the painter to create the resemblance of Mallī — *Mallīe Videha-rāya-vara-kannāe tayānurūve rūve nīvvattīe* —, simply from the only visible detail of her big toe is apparent.

This tendency to depict the exact likeness of a person can also be gathered from other Ancient Indian literary sources. Thus we hear in the beginning of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Kathā-pīṭha-lambakaḥ* 1, *Taraṅgaḥ* 5, 28-30, of a new painter *citra-kṛn navaḥ* who appeared at the court of the king, to which passage Cand.Phil. Almuth Degener has drawn my attention. Here we read:

alikhāt sa Mahādevīm Yoganandaṃ ca taṃ paṭe /
sa-jīvaṃ iva tac citraṃ vāk-ceṣṭā-rahitaṃ tv abhūt //

which C. H. Tawney translates as follows:

« He painted on a sheet of canvas the principal queen and Yogananda, and this picture of his looked as if it were alive; it only lacked speech and motion ».

The king, being delighted, had the painting set up on a wall in his private apartments. Vararuci who entered this place noticed that the painting of the queen did not represent all her auspicious marks. Vararuci continues to narrate in verse 32:

lakṣaṇāntara-saṃbandhād abhyūhya pratibhā-vaśāt /
athākārṣaṃ ahaṃ tasyās tilakaṃ mekhalā-pade //

Tawney translates: « from the arrangement of the other marks I conjectured by means of my acuteness that there ought to be a spot where the girdle comes, and I painted one there ».

When the king noticed that a mole was painted on a spot supposed to be concealed on the body of the queen he became angry. After he had heard that Vararuci had done it, he gives the order to his minister: « You must put Vararuci to death for seducing the queen ».

In this story we also have the motif of the way in which a man who draws the very likeness of a concealed spot on a lady's body merely by conjecturing falls into disgrace.

The resemblance of a portrait is also pronounced at the beginning of the fourth Act of Śūdraka's drama *Mṛcchakatikā* where Vasanta-senā looking at the portrait of her lover asks Madanikā in Sauraseni Prākṛit as follows:

*hañje*⁴, *Madanīe avi su-sadisī iam cittākidī Ajja-Cārudattassa?*

«Hallo⁴, Madanikā, is this portrait the exact likeness of Cārudatta?».

4. After the happenings in the *Mohaṇa-ghara*, princess Mallī renounces worldly life and becomes Mallī Arahā. Śakra arranges for a palanquin — *Maṇorāmaṇ sīyaṇ* — for her who carries the male title of Arahā. In this palanquin Mallī Arahā is carried by Sakka, Isāṇa, Camara, and Baḷi to an Aśoka tree where the renunciation rites are performed. The description of the *sīyā* = *Sk. śibikā* is briefly indicated in this passage by the sentence *tae ṇaṇ Sakke aṇega-khaṃbha-jāva Maṇorāmaṇ sīyaṇ*...

A full description (Varṇaka) of a palanquin (*sīyā*) can be traced in the first chapter of the *Nāyādharmmakahāo* which reads in *Suttāgame* I, p. 964, lines 11-18 as follows:

Tae ṇaṇ se Seṇie rāyā koḍuṇbiya-purise saddāveī 2 ttā evaṇ vayāsī khippām eva bho devānuppiyā aṇega-khaṃbha-saya-sanniviṭṭhaṇ līla-tṭhiya-sālabhaṇjiyāgaṇ ihāmiya-usabha-turaya-nara-magara-viha-ga-vāḷaga-kinnara-ruru-sarabha-camara-kumjara-vaṇalaya-paumalaya-bhatti-cittaṇ g h a ṇ ṭ ā v a l i-mahura-maṇahara-saraṇ subha-kantadarisaṇijjaṇ niuṇoviya-misimisinta-maṇi-rayana-g h a ṇ ṭ i y ā-j ā l a-parikkhittaṇ khaṃbh'uggaya-vaira-veiyā-parigayābhiraṇaṇ vijjāhara-jamala-janta-juttaṇ piva accīsaḥassa-mālaṇiyaṇ rūvaga-saḥassa-kaliyaṇ bhisamāṇaṇ bhibbhisamāṇaṇ cakkhulloyaṇa-lessaṇ suha-phāsaṇ sa-ssirīya-rūvaṇ sigghaṇ turiyaṇ cavalaṇ veiyaṇ purisa-saḥassa-vāhiṇiyaṇ sīyaṇ uvaṭṭhaveha /

«Then the king Śreṇika called his house-servants and said: Oh, you devoted to the king, get the palanquin ready, which is dependent on several hundred pillars, with damsels in the pose of bending down the branch of a tree in graceful appearance, which has a decor consisting of wolves, bulls, horses, dolphins, birds, leogryphs, half-men-half-beasts, deers, Śarabha-deers, Yak antilopes, elephants, forest-lianas, lotus-creepers, which has the lovely and beautiful sound of rows of bells, beautiful,

4. M. MAYRHOFER, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, bd. III, Heidelberg, 1976, p. 804, s.v. *hañje* notes «Anruf an eine Dienerin, particle of address». However, from Bhāsa's drama *Cārudatta* we can gather passages which indicate that *hañje* is used as a particle of address directed not only to a female servant, but also to a male person. There are several examples of that in the fourth act of this drama. Let me quote here only one example of how a *gaṇikā* addresses the Vidūṣaka: *gaṇikā—sādaṇ ayyassa hañje āsanaṇ ayyassa, pādodaṇ ca* which is her order to a maid-servant (*ceṭī*). But in the second act a male servant (*ceṭaḥ*) is addressed *hañje: gaṇikā—hañje kiṇ edaṇ. ceṭaḥ—haṇ vipaḷaddho mhi...*

I, therefore, do not see a female Voc. in *hañje*. It may be an Old-Māgadhī phrase of address: *haṇ je* «it is I, who [am here]».

For addressing exclusively females, *ayye*, and *haḷā*, in German «Herz, Herzchen» are used. Frequently so in the second act of Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*, and the fourth act of *Pratimā-nāṭakam*, where we read in the beginning *haḷā Nandiṇie*, which reminds us of *halā Saundale* in Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-Sākuntalam*.

lovely, worthy of being seen, surrounded by a network of bells, and artistically shaped glittering ornaments and precious stones, pleasantly enclosed by a Vajra-fence of high posts, equipped with a band of Vidyādhara-couples, as if adorned by thousandfold splendour, decorated with thousands of gold-coins, shining, reflecting rays of light, with particles of light which only exist in the glance of the eye, of a pleasant touch, of marvellous forms, quick, brisk, movable, of high speed, to be drawn by thousands of men ».

The above quotation belongs to a literary type of the Jaina Canon, called *vaṇṇao* = Sk. *varṇaka* « stereotyped poetic description », in which H. Jacobi discovered the rhythmic movement of the *Veḍha* metre, a predecessor of the *Āryā* in the Jaina Canon. In his essay he attributes a high degree of antiquity to it on account of considerations of the positions of the metres. H. Jacobi observed that the evident origin of this Hypermetron from the *Aupachandasika* metre leads us into an age of the formation of metres before the time of classic Sanskrit literature, probably into the first centuries B.C. He adds that this might have happened a few centuries after the origin and determination of Buddhist literature.

In this connection, I would like to draw your attention to two rhythmic sentences in this *Varṇaka*: *ghaṇṭāvali-mahura-maṇahara-saraṃ*

- -| u u u u | u u u u | u u - |

and *niṇṇoviya-misimisimṭa-maṇi-rayana-ghaṇṭiyā-jāla-parikkhittam*

u - | u u u u | u - u | u u u u | u - u | - | u - - | - -

Of the first, H. Jacobi « Indische Hypermetra » 188, p. 422, quotes from *Aupapātikasūtra* [37] p. 47 (Leumann) as follows: *ghaṇṭ' -ā | vali-mahu | ra-sadda || -tanti-ta | latāla | -vāya | -raveṇa | mahure | ṇa purā || yant' aṃ | baraṇ di | sāo*, which is a restored version of Leumann's reading, and also differs from the reading of *Nāy. 1*, quoted by me above. The second sentence with *ghaṇṭiyājāla*, which we traced in the above quoted passage of *Nāy. 1*, has not been noted by H. Jacobi. It is also composed in the archaic rhythmic movement of the *Veḍha*.

A strong support in favour of the high antiquity of such a passage lies in the fact that a network with bells hanging on them as a decorative frieze is well carved on the red sandstone of the railing round the Buddhist Stūpa at Bharhut, dated c. 2nd cent. B.C., the original of which is kept in the Indian Museum of Calcutta. A good photo of this particular frieze of bells is published by H. Härtel. Here we see a coping which is horizontally arranged in three zones. In the uppermost one the bas-relief of a merlon-type frieze is carved, in the dominating middle zone a scene of gamblers enclosed by wavy shoots is depicted, in the lowermost zone we see our row of bells hanging on network, which, together with the two other zones above it, forms an important decora-



Fig. 1: Coping stone on a stone railing of a stūpa at Bharhut.



FRONT ELEVATION.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2: Coping stone on a stone railing of a *stūpa* at Mathurā.



FRONT ELEVATION.

Fig. 3: Coping stone on a stone railing of a *stūpa* at Mathurā.



Fig. 4: Clay model of a *stūpa* with two bells from Tibet.

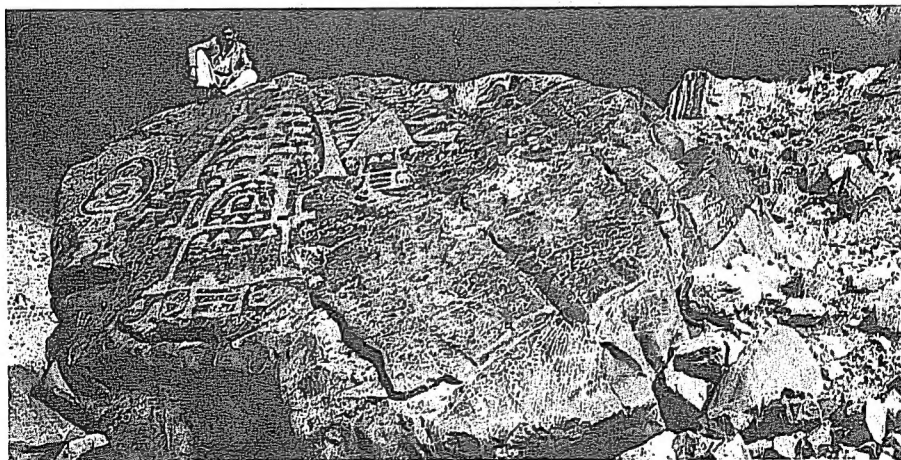


Fig. 5: Drawing of a *stūpa* on a rock from Shatial Bridge North Pakistan.

tive element which is characteristic for the decor of the copings of the Bharhut railings (fig. 1). See many more examples in A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*. Cunningham does not pay special attention to this particular decor of a row of bells in his notes⁵.

Another archaic example of our art decor, a bas-relief of two zones also from Bharhut, c. 2nd cent. A.D., is preserved in the National Museum, Jan Path Road at New Delhi, registered under number 68.163. In the lower zone we see a row of eight bells also hanging on network, where the lower part of a clapper projecting from each bell can be clearly recognised.

The shape of the depicted Bharhut bells is very close to the form of bells which we find in Christian churches.

Another row of bells is depicted on the copings of stone railings round Stūpas at Mathurā, c. 1st-2nd cent. A.D. (figs. 2, 3), which are different in shape from those at Bharhut. Instead of hanging on a network, the bells at Mathurā are shown fixed on a kind of loop. Thus, this row of bells deserves the name of *ghaṇṭāvali* mentioned in the above quoted passage of *Nāy. 1*, Mathurā bell friezes (c. 1st cent. A.D.) are depicted in V. A. Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa*, plates LXXVII-LXXXII, LXXXIV.

5. Another valuable reference of a bell *ghaṇṭa* proper on the top of a spire, embedded in the archaic rhythmic movement of the *Vedha*, can be traced in *Nāy. 1* in the description of a building, *bhavana*, to which H. Jacobi, no. 455, p. 441 refers. The sentence reads:

nāṇāviha-panca-varṇa-ghaṇṭā-padāga-parimaṇḍiy'-agga-siharam

- - | v v - | v - v | - - | v - v | v v - | v - v | v v -

« The spire (of a building) which is decorated on the top with manifold, five-coloured bells and flags ».

See P. Steinthal, no. 122, p. 30, and *Suttāgame I*, p. 957, line 27.

The same sentence is included in the description of a palanquin *siviyā* in *Āyāre 2.15*, *Suttāgame I*, p. 92, line 14. Only in the beginning it reads *nāṇā-maṇi* instead of *nāṇāviha*.

In the *Ovavāiya-sutta*, the first *Uvaṅga* of the Jaina Canon, we find a description of the *Pūrṇabhadra Caitya* which is equipped, among other things, with bells, parasols, banners, and flags: *tise naṇa Caṇṇpāe bahiyā uttara-purathime disī-bhāe Puṇṇabhadde nāma ceie... sa-cchatte sa-jjhae s a - g h a ṇ ṭ e sa-padāgāi-padāga-maṇḍie...*

For the reference see E. Leumann's *Aupapātika Sūtra Edition*, § 2. *Suttāgame II*, p. 1, refers briefly to *Puṇṇabhadde nāmaṇ ujjāṇe*, instead of *ceie*. *Ceie* = Sk. *caitya* frequently occurs in the Jaina Canon, so in the *Viyāhapannatti*, where in *Viy. 12, 1, 1*, e.g. *Koṭṭhae ceie, vaṇṇao* is

5. CUNNINGHAM, p. 10, only remarks: « This broad line of bas-reliefs is on both faces finished by two rich borders, the lower one consisting of a continuous row of bells ».

mentioned. Its *Vṛtti* refers for the complete *caityasya varṇanaṃ* to the *Pūrṇabhadra-caitya-varṇana* of the *Aupapātika-sūtra*!

The bells on the top of the spire, mentioned in the *Varṇakas* of the Jaina Canon, remind us of the two bells *ghaṇṭā-dvayaṃ*⁶ (fig. 4) on the top of a Buddhist *Stūpa*-spire expressly connected with the two stanzas which carry the Buddha-word into all directions according to a *Stūpa*-passage of the *Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*, c. 2nd cent. A.D., in the *Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecanaṃ* text, no. 21, and of the bells (*Tib. dril-bu*) on top of the *Stūpa* structure which represent the *brahma*-sound penetrating the Universe according to the Tibetan version of the *Caitya-vibhāga-vinayodbhāva-sūtra*, no. XIII (figs. 4, 5). For references see G. Tucci and G. Roth.

Returning to the bell in the Jaina Canon, I may refer here to the four bells of a horse-drawn car, which are frequently mentioned in a stereotyped sentence. So we read in *Mallī-Jñāta* 59 of my edition with regard to king Paṇibuddhi: *jeṇ' eva sae gihe jeṇ' eva cāu-ggħaṇṭe āsarahe teṇ' eva uvāgacchai* « He went to his house, to his horse-drawn carriage with four bells ».

According to Abhayadevasūri's commentary this is a carriage with four bells in front, four on each side of it, and four at the back of the carriage. There are many more references of this horse-drawn carriage in the Jaina Canon. So in *Nāy.* 1, Steinthal 130-133, pp. 32, 33 = *Suttāgame* I, p. 959, and *Nāy* 16, 123, 125, in *Suttāgame* I, pp. 1082, 1085.

In our study of the bell as a decorative art motif mentioned in ancient passages of the Jaina Canon (c. 2nd cent. B.C.), and depicted in bell friezes on contemporary Buddhist and Jinistic monuments at Bharhut and Mathurā, we have become acquainted with the oldest literary and archaeological testimonies of the bell in Ancient India. With regard to the archaeological findings it is important to note that the frieze of a row of bells carved on the copings of the stone railings (*vedikā*) is the exclusive property of the sacred buildings of Bharhut and Mathurā ranging from 2nd cent. B.C. up to the 1st cent. A.D., which vanishes as a decor of monuments in later periods. Why? Because in later times the railings round a *Stūpa*, which were decorated with this art motif, vanished. They are replaced from about the fifth cent. A.D. onward by a wall (*prācīra*) which surrounds a bigger *Stūpa* compound, not attracting the motif of the row of bells. This state of things shows that the passages in the Jaina Canon which refer to the row of bells as a decorative element reflect a high degree of antiquity which is underlined by the fact that they are handed down in the archaic *Veḍha*-metre. In this way H. Jacobi's statements with regard to the pre-Christian date

6. Pairs of bells *ghaṇṭā-juyalā* are also mentioned with reference to *Garṇāppavāya-kuṇḍa* in *Jamb.* 74 (*Suttāgame* II, p. 595: *tesī ṇaṃ toraṇāṇaṃ uppīṇa bahave chattāi-cchattā paḍāgāi-paḍāgā ghaṇṭā-juyalā cāmara-juyalā uppāla-hatthagā pauma-hatthagā...*

of the *Varṇakas* in the Jaina Canon are fully confirmed by archaeological evidence.

6. In § 5 of this paper, we took note of the use of bells on the top of a spire, also mentioned in the Archaic *Vedha* metre of the Jaina Canon, we read about bells together with parasols, flags and banners in connection with the *Pūrṇabhadra Caitya* described in the *Aupapātika Sūtra*, and we learned about the installation of bells which are supposed to carry the word of the Buddha through the worlds on Buddhist *Stūpas*, along with flags, banners, parasols etc. in the Buddhist *Stūpa* treatises mentioned above. This clearly shows that the bell has been at home in India since ancient times, well attested in Buddhist and Jinistic literature and art.

P. von Bohlen, observed since long ago that the bells of the Buddhists, both the smaller and the bigger ones are very much alike those which are used in Christian churches. Richard Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1914, p. 126 states that the use of the bell in Christianity is rather late, not before the 6th cent. A.D., and that nevertheless Christian church bells are still understood to have originated in Christianity itself, or to have their predecessors in Judaism and Paganism. Garbe refers to Herzog's *Realencyklopädie* VI, 704. The same attitude is assumed in Maria Trumpf-Lyritzaki's recent article on the « Glocke ». She informs us that the small clapper bell, made of bronze, first appeared in Armenia in the eighth cent. B.C. and spread over the Ancient Orient to Egypt, from where it entered into the Mediterranean region about 700 B.C. She refers to J. Wiesner's assumption of the origin of the bell among Iranian riders who trimmed their horses with small tinkling bells. She informs us that the first dated bells belonged to the trappings of horses, so the first dated bell, on which the name of the Urartu king Argishti I, 8th cent. B.C., is inscribed.

Trumpf-Lyritzaki (173) notes that the carriage which brought the dead body of Alexander to Egypt was decorated with bells, and refers (177) to an early horse-drawn cult vehicle from the Iberian peninsula to which five bells are attached at the back, and a riding hunter with a bell round the neck of his horse. This reminds us of the horse-drawn carriage of four bells (*cāu-gghaṇṭe āsa-rahe*), quoted from the Jaina Canon in § 5 of this paper, in which I see an ancient trace which survived in the Jaina scriptures.

Trumpf-Lyritzaki's account of the « Glocke » contains a wealth of information on the subject also about the Christian church-bell in connection with the church tower. The bells in India, East Asia, and South-East Asia are excluded from her account.

There is also no reference to the bells in India in the « Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie » compiled by E. Weidner, W. von Soden, Berlin, New York, 1957-71, bd. 3, pp. 427-31, s.v. « Glocke ».

We only find a short note about Buddhist and Brahmanic bells in « *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* », ed. by J. Hastings, New York, 1930, vol. VI, pp. 313-18, 315-16 in particular, s.v. « gongs and bells ».

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 3 (1962), p. 373, mentions a bell cast in bronze in Hyderabad, India, and remarks: « Burma, India, Egypt, Japan and other ancient civilisations made use of bells, in different forms so long ago that tracing their history is almost impossible ».

Brookhaus Enzyklopädie, 7 (1969), p. 406, depicts a Buddhist bell from the Buddhist sanctuary of Bodh Gayā, but does not say anything about it in its article on the « Glocke ».

R. Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1914, p. 118, already observed that Buddhism and Christianity have many elements of their cult in common: monasteries, orders of monks and nuns, distinction of novices and ordained monks, celibacy and tonsure of the clergy, confession, worship of relics, the rosary, the structure of a church tower with bells, to which the towerlike Buddhist relic and memorial monuments (*Stūpas*) run parallel, and the use of incense and bells.

The bells are indeed the most important things in common, which the Christian church tower, the Indian spire and the Buddhist *Stūpa* share. In § 5 of this paper we saw bells connected with a spire (*sihara* = *śikhara*) in a passage of the Jaina Canon, and with the structure of a Buddhist *Stūpa* in Buddhist *Stūpa*-treatises reflecting the situation during a period between about 2nd cent. B.C. and 5th cent. A.D. Besides we learned about rows of bells in archaic passages of the Jaina Canon and found them depicted on *Stūpa*-railings at Bharhut and Mathurā in § 4 of this paper.

In the earliest days of Christianity, however, bells were not used, because the early Christians saw in them noisy instruments of paganism. During the second, and third centuries A.D. and later, Christian communities existed in Iran, Armenia, and Central Asia. Here Christians saw high tower-like Buddhist *Stūpas* with bells, and the ample use of bells in Buddhist rituals, in the surrounding of *Stūpa* compounds (fig. 5). This inspired the Christian communities of these regions to include the bell in their religious services. They apparently became the transmitters of the bell to Christianity, where it appears in the 6th cent. A.D. only, together with other things enumerated by R. Garbe, when Christianity entered into the organized state of a church supported by orders of monks and nuns.

POSTSCRIPTUM

During my recent stay in India, I met Prof. Lokesh Chandra in Delhi with whom I discussed the above mentioned Bharhut bas-relief (fig. 1). With regard to the upper zone of the coping, where the so-called altar or battlement frieze is depicted, he observed that it may represent

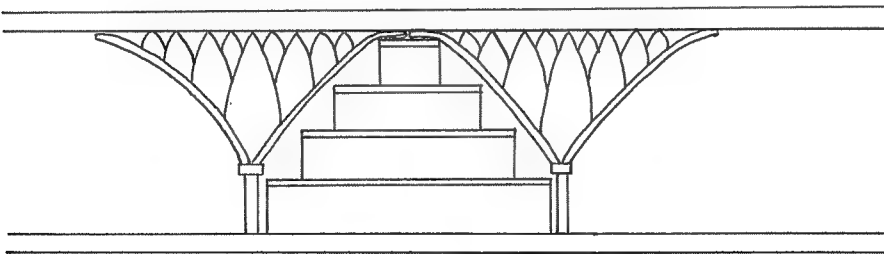
a row of pictorial representations of Mount Meru. After my return on December 7, 1981, I examined the altar frieze on other copings, photographed by A. Cunningham on plates XXXIX to XLVIII, and noticed that three successive steps, upwards diminishing in size, with a head piece on the top can clearly be recognised on all these examples. The lower step is flanked by two pillars from which two curved stems emerge leading to the molding on the top, serving as frame to the three steps and the head piece, in which one may indeed see the outlines of a hill. The space between these representations is filled with lotus-leaves.

It is the Jaina Canon again, where an archaic description of Mount *Meru*, called *Mandara*, is preserved, which may be the source of the pictorial representation under discussion. *Jamb.* 128 (*Suttāgame* II, pp. 625-26) clearly distinguishes three layers of the Mandara Mountain: *hiṭṭhille kaṇḍe*, *majjhille kaṇḍe*, *uvarille kaṇḍe*, and on top of the whole the *Mandara-cūliya* is mentioned.

Long ago, W. Kirfel (pp. 23*, 229) observed that the Jainas preserved an ancient tradition about Mount *Meru* (*Mandara*) as a symbol of the cosmos of three steps, with the *cūlikā* on the top. According to Kirfel this belongs to an ancient system of cosmography in which the triad dominated!

Looking at our Bharhut frieze, I do not hesitate to see in it a true representation of this ancient tradition. The lotus-leaves depicted between these representations may refer to the *pauma-vara-veiyā* mentioned in *Jamb.* 103 (*Suttāgame* II, p. 621: *se naṃ egāe pauma-vara-veiyāe egeṇa vaṇa-saṃdeṇaṃ savvaṃ samantā saṃparikkhitte*. « He (the *Mandara* Mountain) is surrounded on all sides by one lotus-railing, and one woodland area ».

For illustration a diagram of the Bharhut design under discussion is drawn below:



Thus we see that the railing of a Buddhist *stūpa* has preserved a very archaic concept of Mount Meru of which literary evidence can only be traced in the Jaina Canon, as we noticed with regard to the frieze

of bells hanging on network (*ghaṇṭiyā-jāla*), and the rows of bells (*ghaṇṭāvalī*) in § 4 of this paper.

In later periods, perhaps from the first cent. B.C. onward, the number of the layers of the Mountain *Meru* increased. Thus we read in the *Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana* Ms 6B.1: *athavā catasraḥ pariṣaṇṇāḥ* (!) *kartavyā iti vacanāt Meru-pariṣaṇḍa*(!)-*vat*. «According to the utterance, four terrace steps should be made like the platforms of the *Meru*».

Lokesh Chandra, *The Borobudur*, pp. 34 ff., draws our attention to the close connections of the concept of the Buddhist *stūpa* with the one of *Sumeru*, by identifying the first five terraces of the *Borobudur* with the five storeys of *Sumeru*⁷.

W. Kirfel, p. 188, informs us that according to *Jātaka* I, 204, Mount *Meru* has five storeys⁸.

G. Tucci, pp. 48-9, refers to the five elements earth, water, fire, wind, and space which play an important role in the mysticism of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism in connection with the symbolism of a Buddhist *stūpa*.

This short survey shows that the ancient triad of layers of Mount *Meru* indicated in the Jaina Canon, and depicted on a frieze of a Buddhist *stūpa* at Bharhut (c. 2nd cent. B.C.) belong to the most archaic concept of its structure.

A. K. Coomaraswamy, p. 12, refers to the frieze under discussion and observes: «The cylindrical *stūpa* with drum in two stages, as seen at Beḍṣā and in the Kuṣāṇa period is identical in form with a Phoenician tomb at Amrith (Marath) in North Syria. The Bharhut altar or battle-ment-frieze occurs as a string course on the same tomb and on Babylonian *kudurru*.

This formal identity observed by Coomaraswamy does not speak against our interpretation noted above, because Babylonian influence on Indian systems also with regard to the Mountain of the World has been made likely by W. Kirfel, pp. 28*-36*.

7. LOKESH CHANDRA, p. 34, observes: «The plan of the Borobudur is: 5 terraces, supporting 3 circular platforms adorned with 72 latticed campanulae, surrounding a larger central stūpa on a final and ninth terrace (Kempers, 1959, 42-43; Fontein, 1971, 16; Frédéric, 1965, 158). The first five terraces are the five storeys of *Sumeru*, as we find in Nepalese temples, in Tibetan texts, on thangka paintings, and as is well known from the oral traditions of Indonesia (Fontein, 1971, 14) that the Chandi is a *Sumeru*».

8. See V. Fausböll, editor, *The Jātaka together with its Commentary*, London, 1877. Text. Vol. I, p. 204, 12-17: *tattha uraga-saddena nāgā gahitā, te uḍake balavantā honti, tasmā Sinerussa paṭhamālinde tesam ārakkhā, ..., dutiyālinde..., tatiyālinde..., cautthālinde..., pañcamālinde...*

Reference is also made to the five terraces of Mt. *Sineru* in CPD, s.v. *ālinda*.

Garbini⁹ traced the most ancient evidence of the stepped pinnacle in Ancient Iran on imprints of Elamite seals coming from Susa, dated c. 3000 B.C., from where it spread both eastward and westward. So we find it also on the protohistoric seals of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappā in the 3rd millenium B.C. The examples from an Elamite seal, and one from Mohenjo Daro which Garbini reproduced on figs. 9 and 10 of his article are precisely of the same pattern which we have in Bharhut: three steps and a top piece.

The stepped pinnacles at Persepolis in fig. 11 of Garbini's article have a similar slope. In the first millenium B.C. this design became widespread in Assyria. Garbini observes that the stepped pinnacle appears on the summit of buildings for religious purposes, and he refers to temples surmounted by stepped pinnacles on middle-Assyrian seals of the 13th cent. B.C. He continues: « This fact therefore enables us to consider that the stepped pinnacle had a religious significance; it was probably used as the symbol of the sacred mountain ».

In the light of Garbini's article, I see in the battlement frieze on the top of the Bharhut railings, and on the top of the tympana in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves¹⁰ the Indian version of the ancient tradition of the Mountain of the World, of which we found traces in the Jaina Canon.

9. G. GARBINI, *The stepped Pinnacle in Ancient Near East*, in « East and West », New Series, vol. 9, nos. 1-2 (Rome, 1958), pp. 85-91.

Garbini does not refer to the stepped merlon friezes on sacred buildings of Ancient India. He only observes p. 89, left col.: « at the time of its earliest spread, more especially towards India, where it is found only as a motif used for the decoration of vases, the pinnacle on leaving its homeland in Iran had lost its special religious and symbolic significance ».

However, Garbini's studies and mine, though carried on from different stand-points, have taken both of us to the terraces of the Mountain of the World.

10. Pyramidal battlements, very similar to those at Bharhut, can also be traced in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves near Bhuvaneshwara. R. P. MOHAPATRA, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, Delhi, 1981, pp. 78-9, refers to them. However, we find only on plate 24, fig. 2, a photo of this motif in this publication, which is not clear.

For better photos of the pinnacle design, let me refer to *Jaina Art and Architecture*, edited by A. Ghosh, vol. I, New Delhi, 1974, plate 27 (Khandagiri: cave 3), and plate 30 (Udayagiri: cave 1).

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

- AMK = Ācārya Nemicandra's *Ākhyānaka-Maṇi-Kośa* with Ācārya Āmra-deva's Commentary, edited by Muni Shri Punyavijayaji, Introduction by UMAKANT P. SHAH, Varanasi, 1962 (Prakrit Text Society no. 5).
- BOHLEN = P. VON BOHLEN, *Das alte Indien*, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Aegypten, 1. u. 2. Theil (Königsberg, 1830).
- COOMARASWAMY = ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, Leipzig, New York, 1927, p. 12 in particular. Cf. its German translation by H. GÖRZ, *Geschichte der Indischen und Indonesischen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 11-2. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *La sculpture de Bhārhut*, Paris, 1956.
- CUNNINGHAM = A. CUNNINGHAM, *The Stūpa of Bharhut: A Buddhist Monument*, reprint, Varanasi, 1962.
- GARBE = R. GARBE, *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1914.
- HÄRTEL = H. HÄRTEL und J. AUBOYER, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte: Indien und Südostasien*, Berlin, 1971, pp. 48 ff., 162 (25b). The bell friezes and the stepped merlon friezes on the coping stones of the Bharhut Stūpa-railings have not been mentioned.
- JACOBI = H. JACOBI, *Indische Hypermetra und hypermetrische Texte*, in « Indische Studien » (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 389-441.
- Jamb. = *Jambuddivapannattī*; fifth Uvaṅga of the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canon, in *Suttāgame II*, pp. 535-672.
- JETTMAR = K. JETTMAR, *Das Gästebuch der chinesischen Seidenstrasse*, in « Forschung Mitteilungen der DFG », 2/80, pp. 6-9.
- Kathāsaritsāgara* = *The Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadevabhāṭṭa*, edited by Pt. Durgā-prasād and K. Pāṇḍurang Parab, Bombay, 1889, p. 13. *The Ocean of Story* being C. H. TAWNEY's translation of Soma-deva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara, now edited with Introduction, Fresh Explanatory Notes and Terminal Essay by N. M. PENZER. In ten volumes, London, 1924, vol. I, pp. 49-50.
- KIRFEL = W. KIRFEL, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn u. Leipzig, 1920, read p. 23*, line 23-25, with regard to the Jinistic Mt. Meru: « Endlich wird uns der Meru hinsichtlich seiner äusseren Gestalt als ein Kegel mit drei Terrassen geschildert », see also pp. 188, 229.
- LOKESH CHANDRA = LOKESH CHANDRA, *The Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism*, J-22, Hauz Khas Enclave (New Delhi, 1979), see pp. 26, 34-7.
- Mohaṇa-ghara* = G. ROTH, *Mohanagṛha in Prakrittexten*, in *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra und in den Annalen des Tabārī*, in « Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller » (Leipzig, 1954), pp. 535-52.
- Nāy. = *Nāya-dhamma-kahāṇ*, sixth Aṅga of the Śvetāmbara Jaina Canon in *Suttāgame I*, pp. 941-1125. Its eighth chapter called *Mallī-Jñāta*, ib., pp. 1011-36.

- ROTH = G. ROTH, *Symbolism of the Buddhist Stūpa*, according to the Tibetan version of the *Caitya-vibhāga-vinayoddbhāva-sūtra*, the Sanskrit treatise *Stūpa-lakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana*, and a corresponding passage in Kuladatta's *Kriyāsamgraha*, in « The Stūpa. Its Religious, Historical, and Architectural Significance », edited by A. L. Dallapiccola and St. Zingel-Avé Lallement (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 183-209, 192 (XIII), 194 (21), 197 (23), and fig. XIV/4, in particular.
- SMITH = VINCENT A. SMITH, *The Jain Stūpa*, and other Antiquities of Mathurā (Allahabad, 1901).
- STEINTHAL = P. STEINTHAL, *Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā*, Leipzig, 1881.
- Suttāgame I* = *Suttāgame tattha naṇ ekāras'-aṅga-saṃjuo paḍhamo aṃso. Puppaha-bhikkhūṇā*, Jainasthānak, Gurgāom Chāvanī (Pūrva-Paṃjāb), (1953).
- Suttāgame II* = *Suttāgame Volume II* (containing the next 21 Sūtras), critically edited by Muni Śrī Phūlchandjī, Gurgaon Cantt. (E. P.), (1954).
- TRUMPF = MARIA TRUMPF-LYRITZAKI, s.v. *Glocke*, in « Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum - Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt », Lieferung 82 (Stuttgart, 1979), cols. 164-196.
- TUCCI = G. TUCCI, *Indo-Tibetica I: « MC'OD RTEN » e « TS'A TS'A » nel Tibet Indiano ed Occidentale*, Roma, 1932, XI, see pp. 39-50, and tav. X.
- Viy.* = *Viyāhapannatti* = *Bhagavaī*, fifth Aṅga of the Svetāmbara Jaina Canon, included in *Suttāgame I*, pp. 384-939. However, in *Viy.* 12, 1, of this edition, p. 648, 3, we read *Koṭṭhae ujjāṇe vannao* instead of *Koṭṭhae ceie vannao*. This quotation I found in *Śrī Bhagavati-Sūtram (navamo bhāgaḥ) Jainācārya Jainadharmadivākara PŪJYAŚRĪ GHĀSILĀLJĪ MAHĀRĀJ viracitayā prameya-Candrikākhyayā vyākhyayā samalaṅkṛtam Hindī-Gurjara-bhāṣānuvāda-saḥitam*, Rājkoṭ, 1967, p. 655. Complete in 17 volumes: *Prathamō Bhāgaḥ* (Rājkoṭ, 1961), *Saptadaśo Bhāgaḥ* (Rājkoṭ, 1972).

Fig. 1: Detail of a coping stone from Bharhut, c. 2nd cent. B.C., Indian Museum Calcutta. For reference see HÄRTEL, fig. 25b. Cf. COOMARASWAMY, fig. 47.

Fig. 2: Detail of a coping stone from Mathurā, Kankālī Ṭilā, c. 1st cent. A.D. SMITH, pl. LXXVII, fig. 1.

Fig. 3: *Ib.*, SMITH, pl. LXXIX, fig. 2.

Fig. 4: Miniature clay model, in Tibetan *tsha tsha*, depicting a *stūpa* emerging from a lotus, crowned by 13 superimposed discs, a pair of bells, moon and sun on the top. Inscribed by Indian characters of the 9th/10th cent. Reference, TUCCI, p. 75, and tav. X.

Fig. 5: Drawing of a Buddhist *stūpa* on a rock at *Shatial Bridge* near the Indus river in the mountains of North-West Pakistan, c. 7th cent. A.D., where bells can be recognized. Reference, JETMAR, p. 6. My attention was drawn to this valuable piece during a discussion at the Jaina Conference in Strassburg on 18th June 1981 by O. von Hinüber and G. Fussman.